

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0108

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING, JUNE 21,
1974, MORNING AND AFTERNOON SESSIONS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN MORNING AND AFTERNOON MEETINGS
ON JUNE 21, 1974, THE AHG DISCUSSED BILATERALS,
INCLUDING A REPORT OF A MEETING BETWEEN SOVIET REP
KHLESTOV AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRIA,
APPROVED TALKING POINTS FOR THE 25 JUNE INFORMAL
MEETING, AND AGREED TO SEND A MESSAGE TO THE NAC
(TEXT MBFR VIENNA 0103) CONCERNING TACTICAL
CONSIDERATIONS ON THE USE OF THE ALL-PARTICIPANTS
FORMULA PRESENTLY BEING CONSIDERED BY THE SPC. END
SUMMARY.

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BILATERALS

2. US REP COMMENTED ON HIS 17 JUNE CONVERSATION WITH SOVIET DELEGATION MEMBER SHUSTOV (MBFR VIENNA 0088) BY STATING THAT SHUSTOV APPEARED TO BE SINCERE IN COMMENTING THAT THE WEST'S NON-INCREASE PROPOSAL WAS A MOVE OF SUBSTANCE; THAT THE CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAD A DIFFERENT OBLIGATION FROM OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS; AND THAT THE EAST RECOGNIZED THAT BOTH SIDES WOULD HAVE TO DISCUSS DATA BUT THAT SUCH A DISCUSSION WAS PREMATURE.

3. UK DEPREP (GOODALL) DISTRIBUTED A RECORD OF A CONVERSATION ON 18 JUNE WITH SOVIET DELEGATION MEMBERS SHUSTOV AND KUTOVOI (MBFR VIENNA 0100). UK DEPREP COMMENTED THAT THE CONVERSATION WAS HELD AT THE SAME TIME AS THE INFORMAL MEETING AND THAT BOTH SOVIET PARTICIPANTS APPEARED TO BE UNCERTAIN AS HOW TO RESPOND TO SOME OF THE QUESTIONS. THE TIMING OF THE CONVERSATION APPARENTLY CAUSED THE AMBIGUITY OF SOME OF THE SOVIET ANSWERS.

4. THE BRITISH DEPREP ALSO REPORTED ON A MEETING BETWEEN SOVIET REP KHLESTOV AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRIA ON 10 JUNE, AS REPORTED TO HIM BY THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR. THE MEETING HAD BEEN HELD AT KHLESTOV'S SUGGESTION. THE SOVIET REP HAD STATED TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO ESTABLISH REGULAR CONTACTS, WAS READY TO EXPLAIN THE EASTERN POSITION AND WAS READY TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS THAT THE FRENCH MIGHT HAVE. UK DEP REP COMMENTED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT SOVIET DEL HAD BEEN EAGER SINCE OUTSET OF NEGOTIATIONS TO ESTABLISH A REGULAR CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION WITH FRENCH EMBASSY, BUT THAT FRENCH HAD NOT COOPERATED AND STILL DID NOT INTEND TO. DURING THE MEETING KHLESTOV HAD STATED THAT, IN HIS OPINION, BOTH SIDES HAD ARGUED THEMSELVES INTO A STANDSTILL AND THAT THE EAST WAS NOW DEPLOYING A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD BE A FIRST STEP TO GET THE NEGOTIATIONS MOVING. THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WAS AN ATTEMPT TO FIND THE MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN
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THE EASTERN REQUIREMENT THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET AND THE WESTERN OFFER OF A NON-INCREASE AGREEMENT. KHLESTOV HAD DECLINED TO BE DRAWN INTO A DISCUSSION OF A POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL STATING THAT ONE WOULD HAVE TO WAIT FOR THE WESTERN REACTION.

5. UK REP ROSE DISTRIBUTED A MEMORANDUM CONCERNING A

CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD WITH SOVIET REP KHLESTOV AND
DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY AFTER THE JUNE 20 PLENARY MEETING
(MBFR VIENNA 0098). THE SOVIET DEPREP HAD COMMENTED
THAT HE THOUGHT THAT THE ARGUMENTS IN THE PLENARY
STATEMENT BY CANADIAN REP GRANDE CONCERNING
DEFERRING UK PARTICIPATION UNTIL PHASE II WERE
PARTICULARLY WEAK AND THAT IN ANY CASE THEY DID
NOT CORRESPOND TO THE POLICY OF THE PRESENT
BRITISH GOVERNMENT. THE BRITISH REP DENIED THESE
CLAIMS. SMIRNOVSKY INDICATED THAT A COMMITMENT
MADE BY ALL THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO REDUCE
THEIR FORCES WOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE AS REGARDS THE
EASTERN ATTITUDE TOWARDS PHASING, PROVIDED THE WEST
PUT DOWN ON PAPER WHEN AND BY HOW MUCH EACH COUNTRY
WOULD REDUCE.

6. CANADIAN AMBASSADOR GRANDE REPORTED THAT DURING
A SOCIAL FUNCTION ON JUNE 20, GDR REP OESER HAD
OBSERVED THAT THE CANADIAN REP HAD INCLUDED IN HIS
PLENARY STATEMENT SOME OF THE POINTS WHICH HAD BEEN
RAISED IN RECENT INFORMAL SESSIONS. HUNGARIAN REP
PETRAN HAD COMMENTED THAT NO PROGRESS COULD BE
EXPECTED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE THE SUMMER RECESS.
CANADIAN REP OBSERVED THAT PETRAN DID NOT APPEAR TO BE
CONCERNED OVER THIS FACT. AT THE SOCIAL FUNCTION. ALL
OF THE WARSAW PACT PARTICIPANTS HAD WITH IMPRESSION OF
CONCERTED EFFORT TRIED TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE
EAST HAD MADE A SIGNIFICANT MOVE AT THE JUNE 18 INFORMAL
MEETING.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

TALKING POINTS FOR JUNE 25 INFORMAL SESSION WITH EAST

7. THE AHG DISCUSSED AND, AFTER MAKING MINOR CHANGES, APPROVED TALKING POINTS FOR THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSION ON JUNE 25. IN INTRODUCING THE TALKING POINTS, THE US REP POINTED OUT THAT THEY WERE DESIGNED TO INFORM THE EAST THAT WHILE THEIR COMVE AT THE JUNE 18 INFORMAL WAS POSITIVE, THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES WERE SMALL. THE POINTS THEREFORE CONTAINED A CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN POSITION. THE AHG AGREED THAT PARTICIPANTS FOR THE NEXT INFORMAL SESSION WILL BE US REP, US DEPREP, FRG REP (BEHREND) AND THE CANADIAN REP.

ROMANIANS

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8. CANADIAN REP NOTED THAT THE AD HOC GROUP HAD NOT BRIEFED THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION ON THE LAST THREE INFORMALS AND SUGGESTED THAT THE UK REP PROVIDE SUCH A BRIEFING. THE UK REP SAID THAT HE WOULD BE GLAD TO DO SO BUT NOTED THAT THE ROMANIANS WERE NOW ATTENDING KHLESTOV'S DEBRIEFS ALONG WITH THE BULGARIANS AND HUNGARIANS. HE WONDERED IF THE ROMANIANS SHOULD RECEIVE BOTH THE EASTERN AND WESTERN INTERPRETATION OF THE INFORMALS, SINCE HE FELT THAT THE ROMANIANS WOULD PROBABLY PROVIDE THE WESTERN INTERPRETATION TO THE OTHER SIDE. UK REP SUGGESTED THAT THE BRIEFING OF THE ROMANIANS BE FACTUAL AND ABBREVIATED AND NOT CONTAIN ANY INTERPRETATIONS. THE FRG AND GREEK (DOUNTAS) REPS AND BELGIAN ACTING REP (WILLOT) AGREED WITH THE COMMENTS OF THE UK REP, BUT THE BELGIAN ACTING REP WENT FURTHER AND SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS THE BRIEFINGS OF THE ROMANIANS MIGHT BE TERMINATED.

9. US DEP REP POINTED OUT THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE BRIEFING WAS TO PREVENT THE ROMANIANS FROM MAKING PUBLIC CRITICISM AGAINST THE PROCEDURES BEING USED TO CONDUCT THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE FELT, THEREFORE, THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO CONTINUE TO BRIEF THE ROMANIANS. ROMANIANS SHOULD NOT BE TOLD ANYTHING THAT THE WEST WOULD NOT TELL THE SOVIETS IN INFORMAL SESSION. THE ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) AGREED WITH THE US DEP REP AND ADDED THAT BRIEFING THE ROMANIANS COULD ALSO PROVIDE A FORUM WHICH THE ADHOC GROUP MIGHT WANT TO USE IN THE FUTURE TO GIVE HINTS TO THE EAST WHEN APPROPRIATE. THE AHG DECIDED TO CONTINUE TO BRIEF THE ROMANIANS IN THE MANNER SUGGESTED BY THE UK REP.

AHG MESSAGE TO THE NAC

10. AS PREVIOUSLY AGREED, AHG THEN DISCUSSED QUESTION OF HOW TO MAKE A TACTICAL INPUT TO THE FORTHCOMING SPC DISCUSSION OF "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA. US DEL CIRCULATED A DRAFT MESSAGE. US REP POINTED OUT THAT THE AHG WILL WISH TO UTILIZE WHATEVER FORMULATION IS SECRET

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APPROVED BY THE NAC IN SUCH A WAY AS TO EXTRACT THE MAXIMUM MILEAGE FROM IT. THE AHG SHOULD NOT WAIT UNTIL THE APPROPRIATE TIME ARRIVES IN DISCUSSIONS WITH EAST BEFORE ASKING NAC FOR APPROVAL TO USE THE FORMULA, SINCE THE LENGTH OF TIME NECESSARY TO GAIN APPROVAL COULD CAUSE THE BEST MOMENT TO BE LOST.

11. BELGIAN ACTING REP SAID THAT IT MIGHT NOT BE NECESSARY TO SEND A LONG MESSAGE AND SUGGESTED THAT SENDING ONLY THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE US DRAFT, WHICH ASKED NAC FOR A DECISION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESENT DELAY IN SPC DISCUSSION OF THE ALL PARTICIPANTS FORMULA WAS DUE TO THE FACT THAT SOME MEMBERS HAD HAD TO WAIT FOR INSTRUCTIONS. THESE INSTRUCTIONS HAD NOW BEEN RECEIVED AND THE SPC WOULD BE ABLE TO PROCEED. THE NAC WOULD PROBABLY MAKE A DECISION ON THE MATTER SHORTLY AFTER PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT. HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE SPC WAS FOCUSING ON SUBSTANCE, NOT TACTICS, IT WOULD NOT IGNORE IMPORTANCE OF INTRODUCING THE NEW FORMULA INTO NEGOTIATIONS AT THE PROPER MOMENT. PROPOSED MESSAGE WAS THEREFORE SUPERFLUOUS.

12. ITALIAN REP SAID THAT HE AGREED WITH THE BELGIAN REP, AND THAT HE FELT THAT AN AHG MESSAGE RECOMMENDING A COURSE OF ACTION TO THE NAC WOULD REQUIRE EACH DELEGA-

TION TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE APPROVING IT. THIS
WOULD TAKE TOO LONG.

13. US DEPREP REPLIED THAT IT WAS BOTH LEGITIMATE AND
DESIRABLE FOR THE AHG TO BRING TACTICAL POINTS RELATIVE
TO THE USE OF THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA TO THE
COUNCIL'S ATTENTION DURING ITS DISCUSSION OF POLICY
ASPECTS OF THE ISSUE. CONCERNING THE ITALIAN REP'S
POINT ON THE NEED FOR NATIONAL INSTRUCTIONS, THERE WAS
NO NEED FOR AN OFFICIAL GROUP RECOMMENDATION. THE
REPORT COULD BE PURELY INFORMATIVE. THE FACT THAT SOME
DELEGATIONS HAD DIFFERING VIEWS COULD ALSO BE ADDED TO
THE CABLE.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

14. UK REP THANKED THE US REP FOR PROVIDING AN EX-
CELLENT PAPER WHICH SERVED TO FOCUS THE AHG'S DISCUSSION
OF THE MATTER. HOWEVER, HE CONSIDERED THE PAPER IN
ITS PRESENT FORM DID IN PART TOUCH ON THE SUBSTANCE OF

THE ALL PARTICIPANTS FORMULA, A MATTER FOR THE COUNCIL TO DECIDE, AS WELL AS ON THE TACTICAL ASPECTS WHICH WERE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AHG. THE SCOPE OF THE ALL PARTICIPANTS FORMULA WAS STILL UNDER DISCUSSION IN THE SPC. THE UK GOVERNMENT HAS INSTRUCTED THE UK MISSION TO TRY TO DEVELOP A FORMULA WHICH WOULD STIPULATE THAT THE PRESENTATION TO THE EAST REFER TO ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING THE US AND USSR, NOT ONLY TO NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THIS IS AN ISSUE WHICH REQUIRES A POLICY DECISION BEFORE THE AHG CAN MAKE A TACTICAL RECOMMENDATION. THEREFORE, HE SAID, HE COULD NOT APPROVE LANGUAGE TO NAC WHICH WAS AT VARIANCE

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WITH THESE POLICY POSITIONS.

15. FRG REP SAID HE AGREED WITH BOTH THE UK AND US VIEWS. HE AGREED THAT THE AHG HAD BOTH THE RIGHT AND THE DUTY TO PUT TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS TO NATO. AT SOME TIME, THE NAC WAS CHARGED WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR DECIDING THE POLICY QUESTION OF WESTERN PARTICIPATION IN REDUCTIONS IN PHASE TWO AND THE FORMULA FOR ADVANCING THIS POLICY TO THE EAST. PREVIOUS SPC DISCUSSIONS HAVE SHOWN THAT TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS ALWAYS CREEP IN, SO THE AHG SHOULD MOVE TO GET ITS TACTICAL POINTS ON THE RECORD. THEREFORE, HE SAID THAT HE COULD APPROVE THE DRAFT CABLE IF IT DID NOT CONTAIN AN OFFICIAL RECOMMENDATION. THE FRG REP ACKNOWLEDGED, HOWEVER, THAT HE MIGHT BE A BIT OUT IN FRONT OF HIS GOVERNMENT.

16. BELGIAN ACTING REP SAID THAT HE HAD THE SAME DIFFICULTY WITH THE DRAFT CABLE AS THE UK REP. THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN A POSITION ON THE ALL PARTICIPANTS FORMULA. IF HE, AS A MEMBER OF THE AHG, ENDORSED THE TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS WHICH LEAD TO THE CONCLUSION IN THE DRAFT CABLE THAT THE "ALL" FORMULA SHOULD REFER ONLY TO NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, HE WOULD BE TAKING A POSITION AGAINST HIS OWN GOVERNMENT. HE SAID, FOR THIS REASON, HE COULD NOT APPROVE A COMPREHENSIVE, PRESENTATION WHICH COVERED THE ISSUE OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II. HE COULD,

HOWEVER, CONSIDER VERSION OF THE PAPER WHICH LIMITED ITSELF TO DESCRIBING THE PRESENT SITUATION WITHOUT TOO MUCH ADVICE ON HOW TO HANDLE IT.

17. FURTHER DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON THE POSSIBILITY OF SENDING AN ABBREVIATED VERSION OF THE US DRAFT WHICH WOULD NOT CONTRADICT ANY INSTRUCTIONS WHICH INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS MAY ALREADY HAVE SENT TO THEIR REPRESENTA-

TIVES ON THE SPC, BUT WHICH WOULD, NONTHELESS, PRESENT
ESSENTIAL TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS. A CONSENSUS
EMERGED THAT THIS SHOULD BE DONE BY DIVIDING THE
ORIGINAL US DEL DRAFT INTO TWO PARTS. PART WOULD BE
OFFICIALLY ADOPTED BY THE AHG. THE PART DEALING WITH
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THE BEARING OF TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON WHETHER TO
MENTION SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II AT THIS TIME
COULD AS DESIRED BE SENT BY EACH AHG REP TO THIS
GOVERNMENT AS AN UNOFFICIAL EXPRESSION OF US INFORMAL
US VIEWS, WITH APPROPRIATE COMMENTARY.

18. IN AFTERNOON SESSION US DEL SUBMITTED REVISED
DRAFT TO AHG. AFTER A NUMBER OF EDITORIAL CHANGES,
THIS DRAFT WAS APPROVED FOR TRANSMISSION TO NAC.
(TEXT AND COMMENTARY IN MBFR VIENNA 0103). SECOND WAS
A MEMORANDUM OF INFORMAL US VIEWS ON ISSUE OF SOVIET
PARTICIPATION. (TEXT IN MBFR VIENNA 0102). FURTHER
BACKGROUND ESPECIALLY ON PERSONAL VIEWS OF
UK, FRG AND BELGIAN REP. IS CONTAINED IN REFTELS.

19. NEXT AHG MEETING SCHEDULED FOR JUNE 26, 1974.
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